

**UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
ARMS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
WASHINGTON**

April 7, 2015

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY ADVISORY BOARD (ISAB)**

SUBJECT: Terms of Reference – ISAB Study on Arctic Policy

The ISAB is requested to undertake a study of Russia's interests, intentions, and capabilities as it has been increasing its presence – both military and civilian – in the Arctic. We continue to cooperate with Russia on Arctic Council issues, despite tension in other areas. However, the United States and other Arctic states oppose Russia's ongoing violations of Ukraine's territorial integrity and other international norms.

Human activities are growing in the Arctic, including shipping, mining, energy exploration, fishing, and tourism. In response to these activities, the eight Arctic States¹ have recently signed agreements on search and rescue and oil pollution preparedness and response. Full implementation of these agreements should lead to greater cooperation at the operational level among the security forces (including coast guards, military, and related forces) of the Arctic States. Various confidence building measures could also enhance cooperation among the Arctic States as they develop and implement their operational plans for such agreements.

The ISAB could provide recommendations by examining confidence building measures drawn from various arms control and related regimes, from the OSCE to START, and assess their potential application to the Arctic. These recommendations could be particularly helpful to U.S. leadership during the period in which the USG chairs the Arctic Council (April 2015-May 2017).

It would be of great assistance if the ISAB could examine and assess:

¹ Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States

- What are Russia's interests, intentions, and capabilities in the Arctic, including the formation of the new Russian Arctic Commission?
- What are the geopolitical, economic, military, and environmental factors, including U.S.-Russia relations, which should be considered when shaping U.S. Arctic policy?
- With regard to Russia's role in the Arctic:
 - o The importance of the Arctic to Russia and the West, and how differing perspectives may cause misunderstanding and potential conflict.
 - o Identification of legitimate and non-provocative actions by Russia and those actions that would be considered illegitimate, offensive, destabilizing, or illegal.
 - o An analysis of the economic potential of Russia's Arctic coast, including the economic impact of the Northern Sea Route, development of oil and gas fields, both offshore and onshore, mining, and fishing activity. Additionally, the effects of Russia's cold-war and modern-era military activities, including environmental damage, as it tries to make its part of the Arctic viable for economic development.
- How will the other Arctic states react to any provocative Russian action in the Arctic? Will some states try to placate Russia while others become more assertive? What importance do other Arctic states place on cooperation with Russia in the Arctic region and how does that differ from U.S. views?
- What factors will guide the Arctic States as they operationalize the agreements on search and rescue and oil pollution preparedness and response?

During its conduct of the study, the ISAB may expand these tasks, as it deems necessary. I request that you complete the study in 270 days. Completed work should be submitted to the ISAB Executive Directorate no later than January 2016.

The Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security will sponsor the study. The Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Verification and Compliance and the Special Representative for the Arctic (S/AR) will support the study. Steven Rosenkrantz (AVC/ESC) will serve as the Executive Secretary for the study with support from Jennifer Ey (S/AR). Chris Herrick will represent the ISAB Executive Directorate.

The study will be conducted in accordance with the provisions of P.L. 92-463, the "Federal Advisory Board Committee Act." If the ISAB establishes a working group to assist in its study, the working group must present its report or findings to the full ISAB for consideration in a formal meeting, prior to presenting the report or findings to the Department.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Rose E. Gottemoeller", written in a cursive style.

Rose E. Gottemoeller